

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMCONSUL HAMBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4730

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 HAMBURG 0586

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: EGEN, GW

SUBJECT: KISSINGER'S REMARKS TO THE FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION

1. ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 28 HENRY KISSINGER
ADDRESSED THE HAMBURG CONFERENCE ON THE WORLD ECONOMY SPONSORED
BY THE SPD'S FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION. HE DID NOT USE A
PREPARED TEXT. A SUMMARY OF HIS REMARKS FOLLOWS:

2. ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION INTRODUCES NEW FORMULATIONS AND
ADOPTS NEW PERSPECTIVES. THE ESSENTIAL
POINT TO BEAR IN MIND IS THE SEAMLESS CONTINUITY
OF AMERICAN POLICY IN EUROPE SINCE THE LATE 40'S. HOWEVER,
WHILE AMERICAN POLICY IN ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS HAS NOT
CHANGED THE WORLD ITSELF HAS CHANGED AND CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL
STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN OVER THE YEARS AND HAVE NOT
BEEN ADEQUATELY DEALT WITH.

3. FOR EXAMPLE, IT HAS BEEN ASKED AGAIN AND AGAIN OVER THE
PAST DECADES HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN GIVE CREDIBLE ASSURANCE
TO EUROPE OF ITS INTENTION TO DEFEND EUROPE. THIS PUTS THE
MATTER INCORRECTLY. THE QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF ASSURANCE.
THE QUESTION IS RATHER OF WAYS IN WHICH THE NORTH ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY TOGETHER CAN DEAL WITH THE FACT THAT SOVIET MILITARY
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POWER IS VASTLY DIFFERENT AND VASTLY GREATER THAN IT WAS IN THE
PAST. AND IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE COMMUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS
LARGER PROBLEM FIRST OF ALL RATHER THAN JUMPING FROM ONE
SMALL PIECE OF IT TO ANOTHER ON AN AD HOC BASIS. FOR EXAMPLE,
AS I HAVE ALSO SAID IN THE U.S., I DIFFER WITH MY GOVERNMENT'S
DECISION ON THE NEUTRON BOMB, BUT THE ISSUE IN ITSELF IS NOT
DECISIVE -- INDEED IT IS BUT A SMALL POINT IN THE TOTAL QUESTION

OF OUR RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT. AND HERE I WOULD
LIKE TO NOTE THE VALIDITY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNCERTAINTY --
THAT IS UNCERTAINTY ON THEIR PART NOT OURS.

4. WE WILL SHORTLY HAVE IN THE WESTERN COMMUNITY, CERTAINLY IN
THE UNITED STATES, A DEBATE ON SALT II, AND IT WILL TAKE PLACE
IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CHARGES ON THE ONE HAND THAT THE U.S.
IS NOT ADEQUATELY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT EUROPEAN INTERESTS AND
COUNTERCHARGES ON THE OTHER HAND THAT THE U.S. IS TOO MUCH
CONCERNED WITH THE VARIED OPINIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.
WHAT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE SALT AGREEMENT,
WHAT EVER ITS VARIOUS PIECES, BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR AND THAT
IT ALSO BE RECOGNIZED THAT WHAT IS NOT SPECIFICALLY
PROHIBITED IS PERMISSIBLE.

5. WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS WE MUST RECOGNIZE
THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL AND IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
OUR TWO KINDS OF SOCIETIES. AND WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF
THE FACT, OR LET OTHER LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT, THAT WHEREVER
IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO COMPARE THE PERFORMANCE OF A MARKET
ECONOMY DIRECTLY WITH THAT OF A COMMUNIST SYSTEM THE PERFORMANCE
OF THE MARKET ECONOMY IN TERMS OF THE WELL BEING OF THE CITIZENS
IN THAT ECONOMY IS VASTLY SUPERIOR TO THE MARXIST OR MARXIST-
LENINIST SYSTEM -- FOR EXAMPLE COMPARE THE FRG TO THE DDR
OR THE TWO KOREAS OR AUSTRIA WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA. AND YET
THE IRONY IS THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE WEST ARE
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GROWING IN POPULARITY. TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, WHILE THE
COMMUNIST NATIONS ARE CAPABLE OF PRODUCING AGGRESSIVE
POLICIES AND AGGRESSIVE WEAPONS THEY ARE IN ALL OTHER SENSES
FAILURES. BECAUSE OF THESE FAILURES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
LIFE OF THEIR PEOPLE I AM QUITE CONFIDENT THAT IN THE LONG
RUN TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF THE DEMOCRACIES. BUT IN THE SHORT
RUN WE FACE AND SHALL CONTINUE TO FACE GRAVE DANGERS. BECAUSE
THE CAPACITY OF THE WARSAW PACT TO COMMIT AGGRESSION IS
GREATER TODAY THAN IT WAS EVEN A FEW YEARS AGO, WHEN FOR
EXAMPLE IT DID NOT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO INTRODUCE INFO AFRICA
THE HUGE AMOUNT OF ARMAMENTS PLUS CUBAN TROOPS THAT IT HAS
IN RECENT YEARS.

6. BECAUSE I BELIEVE TIME IS ON OUR SIDE AND BECAUSE IT IS
NECESSARY FOR THE LEADERS OF DEMOCRACIES TO BE ASSURED OF PUBLIC
SUPPORT, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO DEMONSTRATE THAT EVERYTHING REASONABLE
HAS BEEN DONE TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR, DETENTE IS ESSENTIAL. BUT
IF THE IDEA OF DETENTE COMES TO MEAN PEACE AT ANY PRICE THEN
THE DEMOCRACIES WILL BECOME SO DEMORALIZED THAT THEY WILL BE
UNABLE TO CONDUCT ANY RATIONAL POLICY. AND WE MUST IN THIS
CONTEXT REMEMBER THAT NO NATION -- MOST PARTICULARLY NOT THE
USSR -- IS GOING TO PAY FOR A CONCESSION THAT HAS BEEN FREELY

GRANTED.

7. AND DETENTE WILL BE A FRUITFUL POLICY TO PURSUE ONLY IF WE UNDERSTAND THAT NO WESTERN NATION ON ITS OWN CAN CONDUCT A POLICY OF DETENTE BUT ONLY ALL OF US COLLECTIVELY. AND WE MUST ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT DETENTE HAS NO GEOGRAPHIC LIMIT -- THAT IS TO SAY AFRICA IS A PROBLEM FOR US ALL NOT JUST FOR THE UNITED STATES AND IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT SOVIET POLICY IN CENTRAL EUROPE MAY BE. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, IT SEEMS IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST THAT THE WEST IS NOT PREPARED TO DEFEND ITS INTERESTS IN AFRICA THEN WE SHALL TO OUR OWN GRAVE DETRIMENT SEE A SHIFT IN THE POLICIES OF NATIONS IN THIS AREA.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 HAMBURG 0586

8. WITH REGARD TO THE THIRD WORLD WE MUST NEVER FORGET THE NECESSITY OF BEING COOPERATIVE AND HELPFUL BUT WE MUST BECOME LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO BLOC TACTICS OR HARSH AND UNFAIR RHETORIC. IF THERE IS NOTHING INHERENTLY EVIL IN AN ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCERS, THERE IS EQUALLY NOTHING EVIL IN AN ORGANIZATION OF CONSUMERS. WE MUST IN THE FUTURE THEREFORE DEVOTE ATTENTION TO COORDINATING OUR POLICIES VIS-A-VIS THE THIRD WORLD SO OUR COMMON INTERESTS CAN BE BETTER SERVED. THE DEVELOPING WORLD NEEDS INVESTMENT CAPITAL AND THAT CAPITAL, CERTAINLY MOST IF IT, MUST COME FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR. GOVERNMENTS IN THE WEST SIMPLE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO VERY MUCH MORE THAN THEY ARE DOING NOW AND SOME MAY BE FORCED TO DO LESS. I CONSIDER IT A GREAT IRONY THAT MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHY AWAY FROM PRIVATE INVESTMENT BECAUSE OF THIER FEAR OF EXPLOITATION, WHILE IN FACT THE CAPACITY OF GOVERNMENTS TO EXPLOIT FAR EXCEEDS THOSE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

9. WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST TRADE THE EAST IS OBVIOUSLY
PREPARED TO PAY SOMETHING. BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT
IS EASIER TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN
POLICY THAN IN THOSE AREAS WHICH CAN BE REGARDED AS TOTALLY
THE DOMAIN OF DOMESTIC POLICY. THE JACKSON AMENDMENT DIDN'T
WORK BECAUSE WHILE AMERICAN CREDITS WERE REDUCED THE GAP
WAS FILLED BY OTHERS. IN ORDER TO CONDUCT EAST-WEST TRADE
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SENSIBLY WE MUST DEVELOP COMMON PRACTICES IN KEEPING WITH OUR
COMMON GOALS. TO PUT IT IN ITS SHORTEST POSSIBLE FORMULATION
EAST-WEST TRADE IF IT IS TO BE BENEFICIAL TO THE WEST MUST
BE CONDUCTED UNDER CERTAIN POLITICAL CONTROLS. FOR EXAMPLE,
CREDITS OUGHT TO BE SPECIFIC AND LONG TERM AND NOT OPEN-ENDED.
THUS THE PROSPECT OF THEIR CANCELLATION WOULD HAVE A MUCH GREATER
CREDIBILITY.

10. IN OUR WEST-WEST TRADE WE TOO HAVE STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS.
WE HAVE STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT, STRUCTURAL INFLATION, PLUS
THE INFLATION THAT HAS ACCOMPANIED OUR ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE
PROBLEMS OF ENERGY. AND WE ALSO MUST LOOK VERY HARD AT THE
QUESTION WHETHER FLOATING EXCHANGE RATES, HOWEVER
SENSIBLE IN ECONOMIC THEORY, ARE POLITICALLY SUSTAINABLE
IN THE LONG RUN. KISELYAK

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